1: Tow E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

All these peoples have in common the following points of social organization: matrilineal clans, matrilocal marriage, residence in small villages under independent chiefs or headmen. They have elaborate initiation schools with circumcision for boys, and initiation without an operation for girls. It is mainly by variations in the initiation rites that their cultures can be distinguished from one another. They also distinguish themselves by linguistic variations and by cicatrizations. This is the region of the *pelele*, or lip-ring, although Yao do not wear it.

THE YAO

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

Nomenclature

The name of the tribe is spelt and pronounced in a variety of different ways: Yao, Ayo, Veiao, Hiao, Wahiao, Wahaiao, Wahyao, Ayowa, Myao, Ashawa, Wajao, Adjao, Mujoa, Mujaosa, Adawa, Adoa, Mediao. Sometimes they are referred to by the name of one of the sections of the tribe or of one of the leaders: e.g. Amachinga, Amangochie, Mamasinga (also spelt Amasanings and Amasaninga), Chiwolo, Kavale, Kalonje, Mikesle.[1]

Geography

The Yao claim a hill called Yao, near Mumbo, between the Rivers Lujenda and Luchilingo, as the original centre from which they dispersed. The main body of Yao is in Portuguese East Africa, and there are large settlements in Tanganyika and Nyasaland.

(a) *Portuguese East Africa.* The two main divisions of Yao in Portuguese East Africa are around Mumbo and around Mataka, on the Lujenda river.[2] Immediately south of the lower Rovuma and at its mouth there are two smaller groups. The Yao occupy most of the territory between the Msinje, Luchilingo, and Rovuma rivers in their upper courses.[3]

(b) *Tanganyika.* Yao entered Tanganyika Territory at two separate periods. In the 1830's they immigrated into Masasi, Chiwata, Newala, Tunduru districts and around Mikindani and Kyungo.[4] The other two groups are more recent comers: one (about 3,000), were taken as war-captives by the Ngoni in Songea district; the other (about 45,000), in the upper Lukuledi valley in Lindi district. They came in from Portuguese East Africa about 1912.[5]

(c) *Nyasaland.* There are four main groups of Yao:

(i) The largest group lives in the Southern Province, in upper Shire, and south Nyasa districts.
(ii) The second is near Blantyre, Chiradzulu, Zomba.
(iii) A small group is settled in a belt on the west coast of Lake Nyasa at Domira Bay.[6]

[1] Hetzel, 1933, p. 7 n.; Hetherwick, 3, 1901, p. xviii; Abdallah, 1919; Burton, 1873, p. 81 n.
[2] *Handbook of Nyasa Co.*, 1898, p. 20.
[3] Johnston, W. P., 3, 1893.
[4] Weule, 1, 1909, p. 140.
[5] *Handbook of German East Africa*, pp. 56, 62.
[6] Murray, 1932, p. 146; Lewis, 1924, p. 37; Hetherwick, 2, 1907, p. 183.

1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT? Yao FT?

performed these services used to enter a special relationship of privileged familiarity with the village of the dead. This law died out in Nyasaland, but accounts of Unan' among the Yao at Masasi and Songea suggest that something of the kind is still practised.

Chiefs and headmen are not buried outside the village, as are other persons. They used to be buried before their own huts, but now in the centre of the village. Shrines were raised over their graves, at which offerings of beer and flour were made. If the village was moved the pot of beer sunk into the ground at the chief's grave was also removed and reinstated at the new site. A dead slave was buried by his fellow slaves; normal rights of sepulture were denied to suicides and to persons who had died in taking the poison ordeal (that is, convicted sorcerers).[1]

OTHER DISTINCTIVE CULTURAL FEATURES

The Yao have a tribal mark of two short cuts on each side of the face between the eyes and the ear.[2] Their women did not wear the *pelele*, lip-ring, although their neighbours the Makua and Makonde did;[3] the fashion seems to have spread to south Nyasa in the 1880's, as many travellers commented on it, without distinguishing whether the wearers were Yao, Nyanja, or Lomwe.[4] The women used to pierce the left ala nasi and insert a metal or bead stud, *cipini*.[5]

MAKUA-LOMWE

TRIBAL AND SUB-TRIBAL GROUPINGS AND DEMOGRAPHY

Nomenclature

The *Ma-* in *Makua* is not a prefix, but part of the name. Variant spellings are *Makoa*, *Makoa*, *Makoane*. They are sometimes referred to by the name of one subdivision, the Meeto Makua, and called *Ameto* or *Mato*.[6]

The *Lomwe* (also spelt *Lomwi*) are called *Alolo* by the Yao, and are also frequently called *Angoni* (*Ngoni*) which is an old name for the people of the region.[7] Any of the Makua-Lomwe peoples who have migrated into south Nyasaland are collectively termed *Ngoni* in official reports; Ngoni is a hill in the region of Portuguese East Africa, whence they came, but they should not be confused with the Ngoni of Tanganyika.[8] Another name for them is *Acilowa*.[9] *Alolo* is incorrectly applied to all the Lomwe; it has a stricter application to the Cuabo from Quilimane.

[1] Rattray, 1937; Murray, 1941; Spire, 1945.
[2] Main reasons for burial are: Johnston, J., 1922, pp. 28-30; Swann, A., 1910, pp. 140-6; Abdallah, 1919, pp. 19-21; Duff, 1905, pp. 320-4; Macdonald, 1882, vol. I, pp. 110-12.
[3] Murray, 1932, p. 133.
[4] Thompson, 1882, pp. 33-8, writing of the Yao of the Ruvuma valley.
[5] Macdonald, 1882, vol. I, pp. 16-17; 'several Manjaws hardly any women is without it'.
[6] Swann, A., 1910, p. 328.
[7] *Handbook of Portuguese Nyasaland*, 1921, p. 36; Murray, 1932, p. 56; Wade, I., 1929, p. 235; Livingstone, 1874, p. 32.
[8] Thiel, 1899, pp. 413-17; Cooper Borrow passed through Mangoro country. Burton, 1873 (Lacerda's Journey, 1798), mentions Mangoro.
[9] Abraham, 1951, p. 13; Murray, 1932, p. 46.
[10] Johnston, W. P., c. 1894.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Too FT7

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PLATE I

CHIEF KAWINGA THE SIXTH

He wears the traditional necklace of lions' claws which are medicated to protect him from the bullets of his enemies.

[facing p. iii]

stream, sprinkles the boy on the chest with the water. Then the positions are reversed and the woman receives the "soil" on her chest, after which they plunge into the water and bathe, each pouring water over the other. The woman rubs the boy's back and he in turn duly rubs the back of his woman guardian. Clothes are not removed. Everyone bathes so.

While this is going on, the n'nimbila and his assistants hold a triad of bows across the return road, so the people must halt, he sings:

"Ehe mwapo ahowaa wanyaaw nakwaba mwaday"
"For my they are buying I myself they give me the spirits"

that is "everyone has got to buy from me the gifts I myself have from the spirits." As each woman passes up carrying her mouth, the mother runs out and makes a payment to the n'nimbila so that her son may be allowed to pass. The boys are carried back to the shelters where they rest. The mother of the leader cooks food into which the n'nimbila puts medicine; he then gives some to each mouth to eat, after which they partake of the food prepared by their mothers, while the n'nimbila goes to the village for the beer-drinking, returning in the afternoon. In the interval the dancing men dance shambo, etc.

Old shoulbag in separate basins on the ground has previously been prepared for anointing the sick. The n'nimbila takes each basin and passes it across the palm of his hand on which he has smeared medicine, each basin being set down on the ground again. Taking a stick, he smears it with medicine from his "soil," and he dips it into each basin. He then moves with his "soil" to detect any women who may have had any sexual intercourse instead of remaining continent during the stay at Ndapala. He dips his "soil" into each basin of oil in turn and holds it up for the oil to run off. If the oil runs off in a stream, the mother or she stands behind her basin of oil is welcomed as a good mother; if the oil runs off drop by drop, "ndeh," the woman is laughed to scorn. Her basin is changed for that of another woman or her oil is thrown away and some from another basin is put in the place so that no harm shall result to the boy.

The elements then take the boys into the bush near by. The mapajawira dress is removed, the body anointed with the oil, and fresh bark-cloth is put on. Little bows and arrows are made of small branches and given and with these the well shoot as they again enter Lupanda, putting the bows down on skin/rendering/mats to the tribling of all the women present.

Immediately after this, the return is made to the village, just after sunset, the women having been busy gathering up all their belongings, while the boys were being anointed.

Some of the assistants lead the procession, the rest following in single file, all naked and walking very slowly, dressed in the new bark-cloth round the loins, with many ropes of beads round the neck and body, a headband of bark, and down the back a string of beads to which is attached a tassel. Each carries in his hand a wand about 5 feet long, sponge, with a pattern burned in the shaft and two rattles, maracas, affixed at the upper end.

The well-fed women lie about a month under the care of their guardians, during which time they receive most valuable instruction as to their behavior to others, especially to their elders and to members of the opposite sex. Their locks are brought home to them and many little pieces of advice given. They are taught the household duties which will be their lot henceforth and they are instructed of approaching puberty and what it means to them.

During this period their child-names are not used and until their new names are assigned to them, they are called after birds and animals, generally some of the smaller animals, e.g. Anyinguêtro (Anyinguêtro = the clever rat), Akhwaala (Akwaala = a big species of rat), Anakyelyo (Anakyelyo = the clever). I have been unable to ascertain whether these have any intrinsic significance.

The girls are usually given a night to themselves to learn the dangers of love; one night an imitation of a lion approaching their enclosure is made when all is dark; then all of a sudden one of the elements armed with big thorns instead of claws will spring upon one of the girls, generally picking out the most beloved.

When the term of instruction is completed, they again adjourn to Chiyoto for two days where Dzipoo is danced on the first night by women, on the second night by men. The first day is spent by a party of men and women in the bush, preparing figures of animals and their dress for the dance. The women wear a small garment of bark-cloth called *mutuloguêtelo*, a word which literally means "buttocks of a frog" but which is used with the meaning of trousers and refers in this case to the fact that the bark-cloth is worn round the upper part of each thigh into a garment like a pair of knickerbockers. Round the abdomen and chest are worn bands made of short pieces of small, decorticated millet stalks; similar bands are worn on the legs and arms, two on each thigh, two on the leg, one at the wrist, below the elbow, and one round the upper arm. In the dark these give the body the appearance of being painted in alternate bands of black and white. They also wear a headdress of the same material.

On the first evening of the return to Chiyoto, this party of women appears after dark; they dance in a row, advancing and retiring in step, swinging their arms and moving their bodies to onomatopoeic *Si-di! Si-di!* Other women dress up as men, wearing long beards made of *Kisanga*, a kind of fibre plant.

The second night, the representations of animals made of grass and bamboo framework supported by men appear, the elephant, the rhinoceros, and various antelopes being the common figures, also the zebra made of painted bark cloth. These animal figures are similar to the *ningwa* or *ningwa* of the Anjanja and to those of the Awisa,[1] but the semblance is unknown among the Yao.

During all these presentations at Chiyoto, the well assisted on mats are the chief spectators and are duly frightened by the performances of the last two days.

[1] Swann, 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 286.

The hair of the axilla is always removed in men and women, usually by shaving but sometimes in the case of women it is dealt with as in the case of the pubic hair. A man with unshaven axillae would be laughed at and referred to as "a man carrying a fowl in his armpit." The axillary hairs are called *mandanga ya mwapanga* (*apanga*, the armpit).

The pubic hair, *mandanga*, is removed by both men and women; in men by shaving, in women sometimes by shaving, but preferably by plucking out after the application of a medicine called *mamandanga* (*ku-mun*, to pluck a fowl), which renders the operation easy. It is prepared from the juice which exudes from the bruised bark of the *mun-mandanga* tree. There is a woman at Mukenya's who has never grown any axillary or pubic hair; she is called "the rogue elephant"; a rogue elephant has no tusks. It may be noted in passing that the woman has borne children.

A few men have the hair round the anus shaved. Such a service can only be asked of a man's closest intimate, such as a brother-in-law.

I have dealt with tattooing among the Yao in an article, as yet unpublished, on tattooing among the natives of Nyasaland.

The teeth among the Yao people are never mutilated in any way, though the Anamoke go in for small file marks at the cutting edges of the incisors.

The old Yao women, of whom some may still be seen, used to pierce the upper lip and wear a circular disc of wood often two inches in diameter in the hole; this is called *kipeleke* (Pl. VII, fig. 4). The disc was often made of lead and sometimes of ivory. The lead might be hollowed out on the upper surface; it was then called *kapeleke lua utali*. The disc caused a considerable projection of the upper lip which was much admired. A man, on the other hand, with protruding lips would be nicknamed "the warthog," *nanungwinde*, and considered ill favoured.

This *kapeleke* fashion has gone out and of later years the *chipini* or disc were in the left ala of the nose but became more and more fashionable (Pl. II, fig. 2). Originally the *chipini* consisted of a small disc of lead not larger than a three-penny piece, which lay on the outer surface of the ala, held in place by a stem, *kutinji*, which pierced the ala and passed into the nostril. Now the fashion is to wear a very large disc, often an inch in diameter, which itself occupies a hole in the substance of the ala of the nose; it may be flat-topped and called *chipini cha nanga* ("mushroom"), or the upper surface may often be concave, in which case it is called *chipini cha utali* (*litali*, a grain mortar). These discs are made of lead and are sometimes called *kilisi*, a recent word and doubtless a corruption of "lead." Others are made of ivory, which may bear some geometric pattern on the exposed surface. A *chipini* used to rest a fowl.

Among Yao men and women, the lobule of the ear is often pierced but nothing is worn in the hole except possibly a stalk of grass.

Combs for use and for ornament are worn in the hair by both men and women. The ordinary comb without decoration is called *Kkwambaya*; it is made of a number of pieces

301 of bamboo fastened together at one end on the flat side by binding with string, the free ends being sharpened to form the teeth of the comb. If the fastened end is ornamented with beads sewed on in patterns, the comb is called *kwemale* (*ku-wemala*, to comb). *Limemale* (*li-*) distinguishes from *limpemboto*, to be sticky, in the name of a small comb worn purely for ornament. On either side of the base of this comb, pieces of wood variously shaped are glued with the sticky juice from the root of the *shingombote* tree. In this way, a sort of inlay is produced. Pieces of the same are sometimes substituted for wood. Women commonly wear in their hair the small *shimale* knife used for trimming and shaving.

302 The native takes readily to perfume of European introduction, but previously he was not an entire stranger to the use of such essences. *Mbako*, the bulbous root of a kind of grass which grows near water, contains some aromatic principle which has a pleasant odor. The stem is bent around and fixed into the bulb; this is then covered with beads and slung around the neck. *Mbongwe*, the *Mlanje* cedar, is also used, as well as the fruit of a shrub called *shimpwe*. These substances are steeped into the castor oil used for anointing, and give it a pleasant odor.

No pigments are used on the body. As a sign of great rejoicing, the head and face and perhaps the whole body are covered with ashes, but the natives do not even paint the face with these on ceremonial occasions.

303 Bands of headwork are worn around the head, either as a simple band or a band fashioned all with a beads to one spot, or with a tassel. Finger rings are worn made of ivory, shell, leaf and horn, lead, and iron wire. There is also a great variety of bracelets and anklets, a list of which is given below.

Chipemba: made of plaited grass, worn chiefly by little girls and women who cannot afford more expensive bracelets. As many as half a dozen may be worn on the wrist.

Likwepele (pl. *mekwepele*): single circles of solid brass, one half to three quarters of an inch in diameter, worn by women usually as anklets, one or two on each limb. They may still be seen on some of the old women, but as they cause much discomfort, they have gone out of fashion. A man used to be very proud to see his wife adorned with so much wealth and she was anxious to be so bedecked by her vanity. The loosening up and pulling open of the *likwepele* circle in order to remove it cost a fowl.

Chilwanga: a brass bracelet of small calibre; *tlwanga* (pl.) signifies a spiral cylinder made from the same thick brass wire covering the entire forearm.

Likwinjiki: like *chilwanga* of thin brass or iron wire, worn on arms and ankles.

Ching'ombe: a bracelet of fine brass wire wound round a circular core. All the brass comes from the coast.

Likwe: a large ivory bracelet worn by men and women.

[237] *Ulwanga*: ("stiff tail hairs of an animal"), the bracelet made of the tail hairs of the elephant or the gnu.

Lishoko: the bracelet made from elephant hoof.

Chipilipo (*ku-pilipa*, to roll round), a bracelet made of beads wound on a bark-cloth core.

Chipo: the name, but the beads never a double core so that the bracelet is white.

Kambo: a slender hollow cylinder of beadwork which lies flat as a bracelet.

Necklaces are much prized by the women. All the children, too, if possible, are provided with some kind or another, even though it be only a piece of string. They are generally made of beads; chastity and their ornamental inclusions are also worn as necklaces. Some names refer to the pattern of the beadwork, others refer to the length or fashion of the necklace.

Chikuyu is a necklace which hangs down in front to the level of the breasts; it does not go under the arms, as Hetherwick states.[1] It consists of three, four, or five strings of beads in rows, arranged in a pattern.

Angayajo: hangs down as far as the sublime. The word *Angayajo* means "shows out."

Chingonga is made of a single string of beads, but hangs as low as *chikuyu*. *Chikuyu* is of more than one string and various coloured beads enter into its composition, often in fanciful patterns.

Chipute: consists of a single string of beads of one color tied tightly round the neck without tassel or beads.

Chikumanako is worn like *chingonga*, but beads of more than one color are used.

Chikumanga resembles *chikuyu*, only more strings of beads are used.

Mapanako: a solid cord of bark cloth covered with beads of one color, either dark blue or white, worn round the neck crossing on the chest and under the armpits; the cords are as thick as the finger. These are worn especially by girls after *Chipute*.

Chimamako: a cord of beads as in *mapanako*, but worn round the neck only. The necklace consists of perhaps six strings of beads, the first of which is worn close to the neck, while each succeeding string hangs lower and more loosely.

Chipot or *chikudjo*: made of three plaited strands of beads, generally white.

Kichakilio: a necklace with a tassel, usually consisting of two large red beads.

Kiula ("a striped snake"): made of four strings of beads, each row being of one color.

Kidula unkuwe ("the rat's tail"): like *kiula* consisting of two, three or four strings of beads.

Chowa cha mwako (*mwako*, "bag"): a hollow cylinder of bead work usually of blue and white, worn as a necklace. *Chowa* is the Chiyao word for beads; in Chinyanja, it means wealth.

Limondo is a word referring to the pattern of the beadwork, so called from the resemblance to the eyes of the *mwo-ezi*; in *limondo*, white beads are arranged in rosettes round a series of larger black beads in a band.

Most women and many children wear beads round the waist. They are supposed to be very attractive to men. The prostitute wears more than anyone else, for the same reason

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

that she is tattooed more profusely on the buttocks and legs. The skirts of beads now commonly worn like waistcloths with a back-cloth worn, called *mbambo* or *mbele* (*kwambo*, to slip off), referring to the cloth being slipped off over the legs. The fashion now is to wear single strings of beads, each string is of one color but all the strings are different and perhaps number a dozen or more.

Lipumbu: a bead belt three-inches wide, worn by Yao women near Lake Nyasa. A bead apron, *kinjiro*, is also worn by them but not near Zomba (Pl. VI, fig. 2).

A woman conceives her beads when she is " unclean," that is: (a) during the menstrual period, (b) during the period of mourning for a near relative when coitus is forbidden, (c) before the birth of a child and afterwards until such time as she may resume intercourse with her husband.

A large variety of beads has long been used by the Yao. There are some rarely seen now which were much prized in years gone by, while others are of quite recent introduction. There is no evidence that they themselves made beads and there are few which are probably not of European manufacture.

Clothing. The Yao used back-cloth before the introduction of woven materials. The older people may still be seen in it and it is used in most of the ceremonies. At one time, they also used to weave a cloth called *likomamba* from a native cotton plant. This has been given up since the introduction of imported materials.

For the method of wearing cloth, see Pl. II, fig. 2. The very poorest people wear only a strip of cotton round the posterior, held in position by a string round the waist hanging long behind and in front; this is called *mbalala*. Yao women, when menstruating, wear under this a little piece of cloth called *likombi*; it is only worn at this time and not always as in certain other tribes.

Warfare. Fighting has naturally played a large part in the life of the Yao as among other African tribes, but at no time were these people a trained fighting race. Warfare was of a desultory character consisting mostly of raids by one headed chief upon another. A party of men belonging to a chief on meeting with another, meeting some of his followers would challenge them, " *Akombe*, who are you for? " The name of the rival chief in answer was the sign for battle to begin. A false answer would never be given to gain an advantage. When about to throw a spear, the thrower calls to his adversary.

The Yao have possessed guns for a long time. Going out to fight, the Yao used to leap from one foot to the other, and spin their guns around in their hands. They made their own stocks for the rifles. They also used to make a small, cast-iron cannon about three feet long, called *kambala*, "a little man." It was carried in the arms and was touched off by a torch. Drums called *ungoje* were taken into battle. There is an old war drum at Malemya's village, taken in 1866 by the old Malemya from a Mang'anja chief called Mkokumba who lived near Lake Chirwa. Since then, this drum has always gone into battle with Malemya. Around it his men would dance and anyone who had killed a man in battle would run up to it and spit upon it in admiration.

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[End Plate 1.]

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[End Plate 2]

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1. Professional dancers with stilt and leg rattles

4. Physician

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1. Dance with dancing [illegible]

2. A group of Yao at a dance

[End Plate 3]

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

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1. Musical instrument, the mapindopindo, played by Yao boys

2. A Yao as a native servant

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3. Specimen of scarification (Yao woman)

4. A Yao native

[End Plate 5]

ndembo, a woman who is pregnant for the first time;[1] ***kwembeva***, a woman who has one or two children; ***ajembeva***, a woman who has three or four children, and lastly, **ndembo**, a woman who is past child-bearing age. 554 584

The information which I have been able to collect on abortifacients and contraceptives suggests that they are not used by married people merely to prevent their having more children, but that they are used by people who wish to avoid pregnancies which would be embarrassing, for example, by a woman whose husband is a labour migrant. To what extent the abortifacients and contraceptives are efficacious I cannot say; some, I know for certain, rely on a magical principle, for example, the medicated cord worn by a man during intercourse. On the other hand, the abortifacients taken orally may have some active ingredient. 842

A barren woman or an impotent man is regarded with some embarrassment and the marriage sureties (*ariamangwaw*) of a childless couple will go to considerable trouble and expense consulting diviners and leeches in an attempt to make their wards productive. Childless couples are regarded as not fully adult and are treated [585] [559] in a patronizing way by those who have borne children. Since a man may marry other wives, barrenness in a woman is a cause of sorrow to her husband, but is not [586] in itself a ground for divorce. Where the man is impotent, however, the woman may divorce him on this ground, though she usually takes a paramour and forces [837] her husband to an action for damages which automatically leads to a divorce because [694] it is the usual practice in these cases for the court to ask the woman if she wants to be divorced from her husband.

In contrast to the satisfaction shown at the birth of a child is the sense of awe 845 evinced when a child is still-born or the woman miscarries. The Yao do not distinguish between still-births and abortions, both events being known by the word ***kwasanga***. This is a verb and refers to the process of abortion; there is no term for the dead foetus itself. I made no attempt to enumerate miscarriages and still-births because they are supposed to be due to breaches of sexual taboos on the part of the husband and wife, and interviewees were naturally reluctant to mention them. Miscarriages and still-births are greatly feared, and the woman is considered to be in [783] a very dangerous condition until she and her husband have carried out a ritual purification. Should a man have intercourse with a woman who has miscarried and [753] not yet been purified he will contract a disease called ***kwaso*** which is believed to be invariably fatal. Still-born children or aborted foetuses are buried in a hole dug with [766] sharpened sticks in the bush by the women, whereas children who are born alive and die afterwards are buried in the graveyard in graves dug by men with hoes. The burial spots of still-born babies or aborted foetuses are marked with a stone or broken pottery, since it is believed that to step on them will induce an illness.

The concern of the interested kin-groups is shown in the child-birth procedure. 844 Birth normally takes place in a hut in the presence of the older female relatives of the woman and the female representatives of the man. The husband's representatives are necessary because the Yao, like many other Central African peoples, believe that an adulterine child will not be born to the woman unless she confesses (*kupasa*) the name of the genitor. If she persists in concealing the identity of the genitor, they

[1] **ndembo** – elephant, hence ivory. The terms *dindo* and **ndembo** have both refer to the ivory bands traditionally worn by the woman in the pregnancy initiation ceremony. [192] [361]